

I



The Map of Africa

The Anglo-Irish satirist Jonathan Swift, writing in the early 18th century, commented on the prevalent ignorance about Africa and the African people:

So geographers in Afric maps
With savage pictures fill their gaps,
And o'er uninhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns.

A century later, Africa remained, in the public mind, “darkest Africa”—a mysterious and virtually unknown continent (see Vignette 1.1 and Figure 1.1). Even now, in the 21st century, Africa remains the least-known continent. The names of African countries are often in the news, but people generally know too little about these countries to give meaning to what they read and hear. Where is Mali? Is Malawi a different place? Is it Ghana or Guyana that is in Africa? What was the former name of Burkina Faso? Is Equatorial Guinea a part of Guinea? Simple questions such as these are difficult even for college-educated Westerners.

Africa covers a vast territory. At its widest from west to east and at its longest from north to south, the distance is almost the same: approximately 7,500 km. To put this into context, the distance from Los Ange-

les to New York is 4,470 km. Or, if you prefer, with a surface area of 24.6 million km², Africa south of the Sahara is about three times the size of the continental United States (see Figure 1.2).

Just as Africa has occupied a relatively small part of the consciousness of most Westerners, it has also been portrayed on world maps in a way that makes it seem smaller than it actually is. The widespread use of the Mercator and other scale-distorting projections has contributed to misperceptions about the relative sizes of landmasses. Because distortion within a Mercator projection increases markedly with distance from the equator, places at higher latitudes, such as Greenland and Canada, appear much larger than places of comparable size nearer the equator. For example, although Greenland appears to be roughly the same size as Africa on a Mercator projection, it is actually only 7.3% as large, or slightly smaller than the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

THE POLITICAL MAP

The contemporary political map of Africa south of the Sahara (Figure 1.3) bears little resemblance to that of 120 years ago, when the scramble to carve up the continent

VIGNETTE I.1. A Continent Not Yet “Discovered”: A British Map of Africa, 1807

In 1807, when the highly regarded British cartographer Arrowsmith published a map of Africa (Figure 1.1), European explorers and slave merchants had been visiting coastal regions of Africa south of the Sahara for more than 300 years. This map testifies to how little they had learned about Africa’s geography. Vast areas of the continent remain completely blank, lacking even the “elephants for lack of towns” to which Jonathan Swift had alluded.

In West Africa, the interior just beyond the “Coast of Guinea” remained totally unknown. However, note the comparatively great detail in the savanna regions south of the Sahara, providing evidence of the considerable significance of trade linkages from this region to North Africa and beyond. The Niger River appears on this map, but it is shown flowing into Lake Chad—although the map’s publication coincided almost exactly with the expedition of the British explorer Mungo Park, who demonstrated that the Niger flows into the Atlantic.

Especially intriguing is the range of mountains shown extending the full breadth of



FIGURE I.1. The Arrowsmith map of Africa, 1807—an indication of Europe’s ignorance of Africa other than the coast at the time. Note especially the fictitious mountain range stretching the width of the continent.

VIGNETTE 1.1. (cont.)

the continent, named the Mountains of Kong in West Africa and the Mountains of the Moon in Central Africa. The presence on this map of these mountains that in reality do not exist attests to the power of “received wisdom.” These imaginary mountain ranges appear on virtually every African map from the 15th to the 19th century. Cartographers relied primarily on earlier maps for the information they needed; since every map showed the Mountains of Kong, they surely existed! Indeed, some maps published as late as the 1870s show these phantom ranges, even though several European travelers had by then visited the region and failed to find any mountains.

For the most part, Arrowsmith stuck to the geographical “facts” (as he knew them), but he did editorialize in a couple of places, such as his reference to indigenous people in the Cape region of South Africa as the “Wild Hottentots.”

Maps such as this, especially when two or more are viewed comparatively, provide fascinating insights into how Africa was perceived and how these perceptions gradually changed over time. They actually tell us more about Europe than they do about Africa.

among European imperialist powers was in full swing. The details of how the colonial division of Africa was accomplished are discussed in Chapter 11. What is important at this point is to recognize that African borders are recent and often unrelated to either cultural/political realities or natural features. Sometimes this artificiality leads to international disputes, as indicated by the

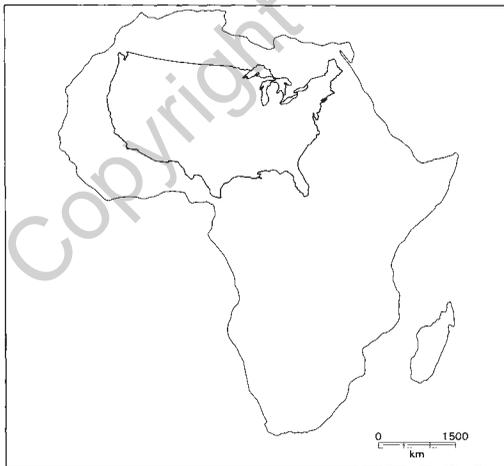


FIGURE 1.2. Relative sizes of Africa and the continental United States.

examples of Vignette 1.2 (and illustrated in Figures 1.4 and 1.5).

Another unfortunate colonial legacy is the extreme fragmentation of the political map. In all, there are 47 independent states, some of which are too small to be considered economically viable. The small sizes and national populations of the majority of African states (Table 1.1) are continuing constraints on development. Certain states have shapes that are unusual and unhelpful. The Gambia is the most extreme example; it extends 325 km along the Gambia River and is no more than 30 km wide. In addition, except for a short coastline, The Gambia is completely surrounded by Senegal.

Africa's Evolving Political Map

One of the ongoing tasks for those involved in African studies is to “relearn” the map periodically. For example, the former Republic of Sudan was divided on July 9, 2011, resulting in the formation of the new country of South Sudan with its capital at Juba. South Sudan's achievement of independence was but the final step in a complex process of armed struggle, negotiation, and finally self-determination—a process that



FIGURE 1.3. The countries of Africa.

commenced in the 1950s with the formation of the first armed movements dedicated to the establishment of an independent South Sudanese state. A peace accord, signed by the South Sudan Liberation Army and the government of Sudan in 2005, provided the region with greater autonomy within a united Sudan and an opportunity to determine its future through a referendum on independence. This referendum took place in January 2011; 99% of eligible voters (in

South Sudan, as well as South Sudanese living in the northern part of the country and abroad) voted in favor of independence. However, even as South Sudan has achieved its long-standing desire for independence, the new country's exact borders remain in limbo, as the oil-rich border region of Abyei continues to be in dispute.

Changes to place names or administrative structures also occur occasionally (see Table 1.2). In several cases, name changes

VIGNETTE 1.2. Disputed Borders

On several international borders, disputes about territory have occurred as part of the legacy of the arbitrary political division of Africa under colonialism. These disputes have been the most serious in places where colonial borders have divided a particular ethnic group between two countries, or where it has been felt that historical–political affiliations have not been recognized. The postage stamps shown in Figure 1.4 illustrate how certain governments have sought to correct what they have perceived as long-term injustices.

The first stamp is from Mauritania and celebrates the annexation of the southern part of Spanish (now Western) Sahara. In 1974, Spain decided to abandon its colony, in large part because of the growing threat of a Moroccan invasion. Ignoring a judgment from the International Court of Justice that rejected the claims of Morocco and Mauritania, Spain signed a treaty in November 1975 with those two countries, under which Spanish Sahara was to be divided between Morocco and Mauritania. The Saharan people were not consulted about this agreement, and the Saharan liberation organization called POLISARIO commenced a fierce guerrilla war of independence. Although the total population of Western Sahara was only about 100,000, POLISARIO managed to force the Mauritians to withdraw and renounce their territorial claims in 1978. The struggle continues against Moroccan occupation.

The second stamp is from Somalia and shows the neighboring Ogaden region of Ethiopia as part of Somalia. This region has a predominantly Somali population and has long been claimed as part of “Greater Somalia.” In 1977, Somalia invaded Ethiopia in an unsuccessful attempt to take over the Ogaden. Although Somalia’s current state of turmoil means that there is no immediate threat of another invasion, the Somali people have not abandoned their belief that the Ogaden is rightfully theirs.

During the 1990s, the dispute over Somalia’s borders turned inward. As the country descended into civil war and the central government effectively ceased to exist, the northwestern part of Somalia seceded and declared itself the Republic of Somaliland. The self-declared Republic of Somaliland corresponded to the former British Somaliland, which had been amalgamated with the Italian colony of Somalia at independence. Later,

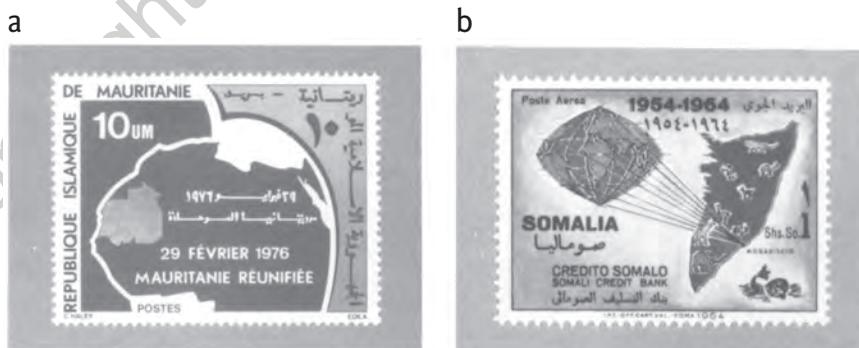


FIGURE 1.4. “Lay claim to thy neighbor.” (a) Mauritania, 1976. This stamp celebrates Mauritania’s ill-fated attempt to annex part of Western Sahara. (b) Somalia, 1964. This stamp shows parts of neighboring countries as Somali territory.

(cont.)

VIGNETTE I.2. (cont.)

a second state, known as Puntland, was formed in northeastern Somalia. To complicate the political map further, the easternmost districts of Somaliland have been claimed and occupied by Puntland (see Figure 1.5). A third self-proclaimed autonomous state—Jubaland, also referred to as Azania—was established in southern Somalia in 2010.

Somaliland has functioned as a de facto separate state since 1991, in spite of the lack of diplomatic recognition by any other country. Despite the initial successes of Somaliland in creating a relatively stable administration and functioning economy, the absence of international diplomatic recognition means that longer-term prospects for its attempt to “turn back the map” appear bleak. Unlike Somaliland, Puntland and Jubaland have not sought international recognition as independent states.



FIGURE 1.5. Somalia, 2011. The map shows three regions that have claimed independence from Somalia (Somaliland) or have functioned as autonomous regions (Puntland since 1998, and Jubaland since 2010).

at independence or after independence represent a decision to replace colonial names with ones more historically and culturally relevant.

South Africa has changed hundreds of place names since the end of the apartheid era, replacing English and Afrikaans names with names derived from African languages. New metropolitan administrative regions

have also been established, amalgamating adjoining cities or joining suburban entities with some of the country’s largest cities. For example, several cities in the East Rand area have been amalgamated to form Ekurhuleni; the newly created metropolitan area centered on Pretoria is called Tshwane; and the new urban region centered on Durban is known as eThekweni. There has been some

TABLE I.I. Countries of Africa South of the Sahara

Country	Capital	Area (1,000 km ²)	Population (1,000)	Per capita income (\$PPP) ^a	Human development index, 2011
Angola	Luanda	1,246	13,134	4,872	0.486
Benin	Porto Novo	113	6,272	1,364	0.427
Botswana	Gaborone	600	2,005	13,049	0.633
Burkina Faso	Ouagadougou	274	11,535	1,141	0.331
Burundi	Bujumbura	28	6,356	368	0.316
Cameroon	Yaoundé	475	14,876	2,031	0.482
Cape Verde	Praia	4	427	3,402	0.568
Central African Republic	Bangui	623	3,717	707	0.343
Chad	N'Djamena	1,284	7,885	1,105	0.328
Comoros	Moroni	2	706	1,079	0.433
Congo (Dem. Rep.)	Kinshasa	2,345	50,948	280	0.286
Congo (Republic)	Brazzaville	342	3,018	3,066	0.533
Côte d'Ivoire	Yamoussoukro	322	16,013	1,387	0.400
Djibouti	Djibouti	22	632	2,335	0.429
Equatorial Guinea	Malabo	28	457	17,608	0.537
Eritrea	Asmara	94	3,659	536	0.349
Ethiopia	Addis Ababa	1,130	62,908	971	0.363
Gabon	Libreville	267	1,230	12,249	0.674
The Gambia	Banjul	11	1,303	1,282	0.353
Ghana	Accra	239	19,306	1,584	0.541
Guinea	Conakry	246	8,154	863	0.344
Guinea-Bissau	Bissau	36	1,199	994	0.353
Kenya	Nairobi	583	30,669	1,492	0.509
Lesotho	Maseru	30	2,035	1,664	0.450
Liberia	Monrovia	111	2,913	265	0.329
Madagascar	Antananarivo	587	15,970	824	0.480
Malawi	Lilongwe	118	11,308	753	0.400
Mali	Bamako	1,240	11,351	1,123	0.359
Mauritania	Nouakchott	1,031	2,665	1,859	0.453
Mozambique	Maputo	802	18,292	898	0.322
Namibia	Windhoek	824	1,757	6,206	0.625
Niger	Niamey	1,267	10,832	641	0.295
Nigeria	Abuja	924	113,862	2,069	0.459
Rwanda	Kigali	26	7,609	1,133	0.429
São Tomé e Príncipe	São Tomé	1	138	1,792	0.509
Senegal	Dakar	196	9,421	1,708	0.459
Sierra Leone	Freetown	72	4,405	737	0.336
Somalia	Mogadishu	638	8,778	—	—
South Africa	Pretoria	1,221	42,800	9,469	0.619
South Sudan	Juba	239	9,243	—	—
Sudan	Khartoum	728	34,557	1,894 ^b	0.408
Swaziland	Mbabane	17	925	4,484	0.522
Tanzania	Dodoma	945	35,119	1,328	0.466
Togo	Lomé	57	4,527	798	0.435
Uganda	Kampala	236	23,300	1,124	0.446
Zambia	Lusaka	753	10,421	1,254	0.430
Zimbabwe	Harare	391	12,627	376	0.376

Note. Data sources: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). *Human Development Report 2011*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. World Bank. *World Development Report 2011*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2011.

^a2011 per capita income, adjusted to reflect purchasing power parity in 2005.

^bData for Sudan are for the country prior to the secession of South Sudan (July, 2011).

TABLE 1.2. Some Important Postindependence Changes to the Map of Africa

<u>Countries renamed at time of independence</u>		
<i>New name</i>	<i>Former name</i>	
Botswana	Bechuanaland	
Djibouti	French Somaliland	
Ghana	Gold Coast	
Lesotho	Basutoland	
Malawi	Nyasaland	
Zambia	Northern Rhodesia	
Zimbabwe	Rhodesia	

<u>Countries renamed since independence</u>		
<i>New name</i>	<i>Former name</i>	
Benin	Dahomey	
Burkina Faso	Upper Volta	
Zaire (1971–1997)	Congo-Kinshasa	
Democratic Republic of the Congo (1997–present)	Zaire	
Tanzania	Tanganyika and Zanzibar	

<u>Name changes to capital cities</u>		
<i>New name</i>	<i>Former name</i>	<i>Country</i>
Banjul	Bathurst	The Gambia
Harare	Salisbury	Zimbabwe
Kinshasa	Léopoldville	Dem. Rep. Congo
N'Djamena	Fort Lamy	Chad
Maputo	Lorenço Marques	Mozambique

<u>New capital city established</u>		
<i>New capital</i>	<i>Old capital</i>	<i>Country</i>
Abuja	Lagos	Nigeria
Dodoma	Dar es Salaam	Tanzania
Lilongwe	Zomba	Malawi
Yamoussoukro	Abidjan	Côte d'Ivoire

confusion about these new names, which are not identical (either spatially or politically) to the cities located at their cores. Although these names are widely used colloquially by black South Africans in place of the “white/colonial” city names, at this writing they have not been officially approved. As such, the original, still-official names for these cities have been used throughout this book.

Several countries have also relocated their capital cities. In each case, the change has been justified as a means of bringing government closer to the people by abandoning colonial seats of government for smaller, more centrally located places.

Africa's Landlocked States

Sixteen African states are landlocked (Figure 1.6). Most of these states share a common legacy of colonial indifference and neglect. Countries such as Mali, Niger, and Chad served as labor reserve areas from which workers were recruited for the plantations and mines of more prosperous colonies. The (relative) exceptions to this pattern of colonial neglect are Uganda, once described by Winston Churchill as the “pearl of Africa,” and Southern and Northern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe and Zambia, respectively), which were prosperous centers of mining and commercial agriculture. Ethiopia joined the



FIGURE 1.6. Africa's landlocked states.

ranks of Africa's landlocked states in 1993 after its coastal province of Eritrea, annexed in 1954, succeeded in gaining its independence after three decades of armed struggle.

With the notable exception of Botswana, Africa's landlocked states continue to be very poor and undeveloped. Six of them have adjusted per capita incomes (adjusted for purchasing power parity [PPP], to reflect the relative cost of living; see below, p. 25) of less than \$1,000. They also tend to have small populations; only Ethiopia and Uganda have more than 20 million people. However, their greatest source of vulnerability results from a perpetual dependence on neighboring states for an outlet to the sea. This problem is exacerbated by the frequent absence of reasonable transportation linkages. Six of the landlocked states have no railroads, and

even where linkages exist, political tensions between neighbors or within neighboring states may preclude the use of these railroads.

The situation of South Sudan provides an extreme example of the vulnerability of landlocked states. South Sudan has considerable reserves of petroleum that will be critical to its future development as a modern nation. However, the established routes for the export of its petroleum run through Sudan to Port Sudan, located on the Red Sea. After struggling for several decades to gain independence from Sudan, the South Sudanese are deeply distrustful of the intentions of the Sudanese state. One year after South Sudan became independent, there was still no agreement on terms for the shipment of South Sudanese goods through Sudan. In the absence of such an agreement, Sudan

has confiscated a portion of the oil passing through its territory as a transportation levy, and has moved to stop the shipment of oil from South Sudan.

South Sudan hopes to reduce its vulnerability by developing a new export route that would link it to the Kenyan coast. However, this route would take years to develop, and some economists have said that it would not be economically viable. As long as it has only one viable export route—particularly one that lies through its hostile neighbor, Sudan—South Sudan will remain highly vulnerable and unable to consolidate its independence.

LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT

Maps are powerful tools for displaying and analyzing spatial distributions, such as variations in wealth and the quality of life. The maps in Figures 1.7 and 1.8 illustrate contrasting approaches to the definition of development within the continent. Although Africa south of the Sahara is very poor as a whole, extreme variations of wealth and development exist across the continent. There are significant differences between the most and least developed countries in income, economic diversity, and quality of life. There are also large differences within

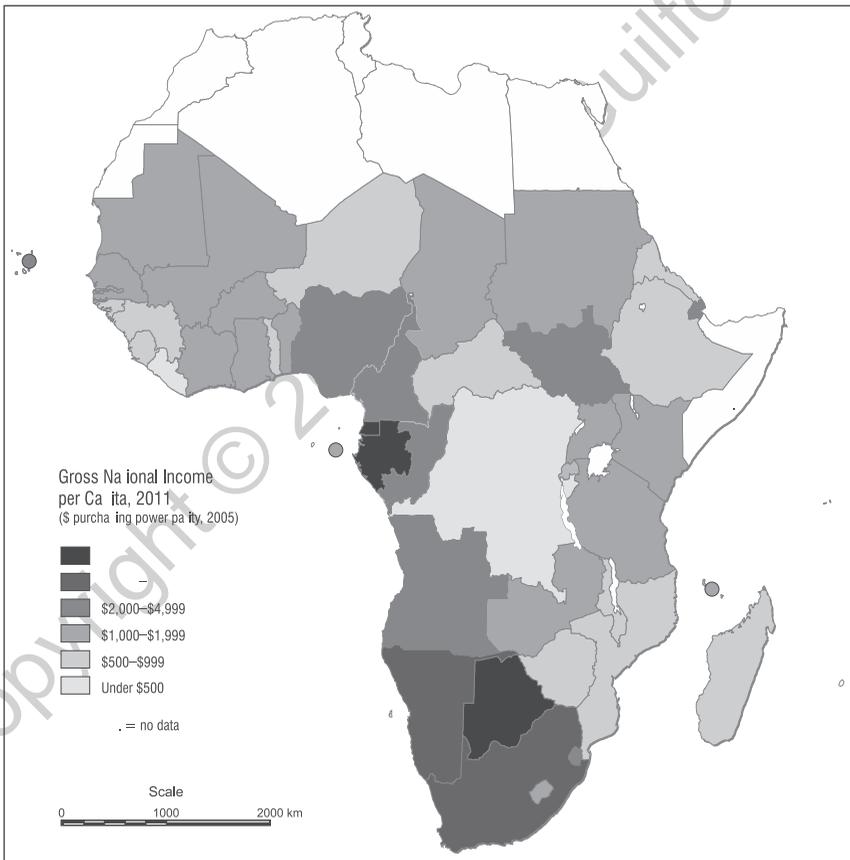


FIGURE 1.7. Gross national income (GNI), 2011. Raw income data have been adjusted to reflect the relative purchasing power of income in each country (purchasing power parity, or PPP). Income per capita (PPP) in the highest-income country (Equatorial Guinea) in 2011 was 66 times as large as that in the lowest-income country (Liberia). Data source: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). *Human Development Report 2011*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

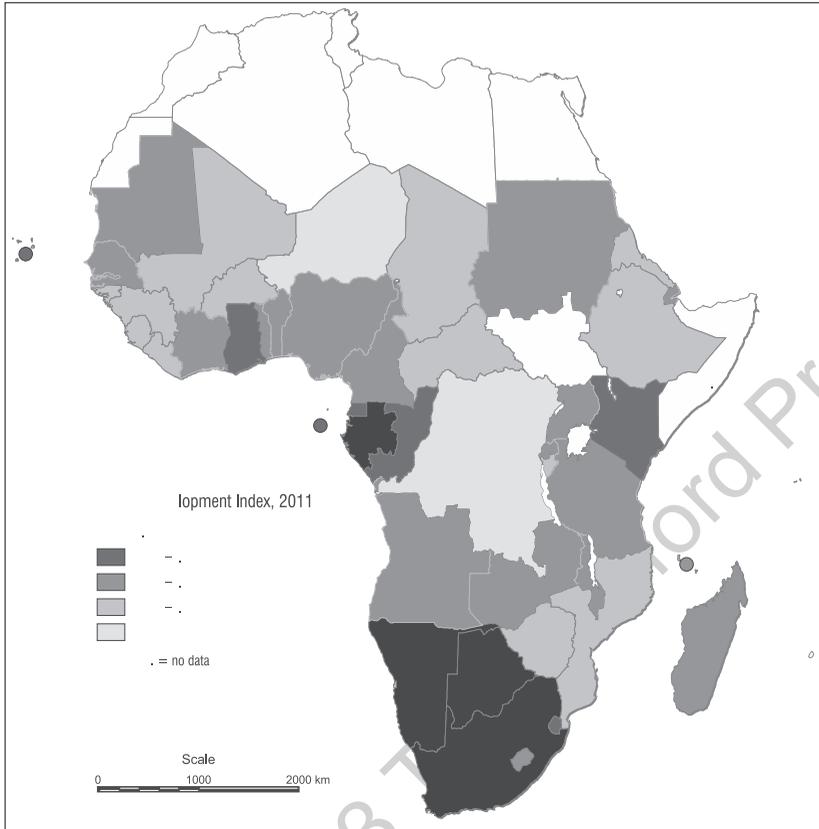


FIGURE 1.8. Human development index (HDI), 2011. When Figures 1.7 and 1.8 are compared, there is an apparent broad correlation between GNI per capita and the HDI score. Data source: UNDP. *Human Development Report 2011*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

each country—between urban and rural areas, and between the rich and the poor.

There is no universally accepted measure of development, in part because development is multidimensional and in part because there are disagreements about what development entails. The most widely used measure is per capita gross national income (GNI). Many analysts now prefer to use per capita incomes that have been adjusted to reflect differences in the cost of living in different countries (i.e., PPP; see above, p. 23) in place of nominal (unadjusted) per capita incomes. Unless otherwise stated, the income data cited in this book will be given in the form of per capita GNI (PPP), in U.S. dollars. Keep in mind that although variations in per

capita GNI are certainly important, aggregate national income data do not show how wealth is distributed in a society, or whether available wealth has been used to improve productivity or the quality of life.

Africa is not uniformly poor. Indeed, per capita GNIs (PPPs) vary considerably (see Table 1.1 and Figure 1.7). The \$13,049 nominal per capita GNI (PPP) of Botswana is 47 times that of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which at \$280 has the continent's second lowest per capita GNI (PPP). However, the majority of countries have very low incomes: All 15 countries in the world with a per capita GNI (PPP) of less than \$1,000 are located in Africa south of the Sahara. Only 3 of the 34 countries worldwide with

per capita incomes below \$2,000 are not located in Africa.

Another widely used measure is the human development index (HDI) (see Table 1.1 and Figure 1.8). In the *Human Development Report*, published under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the HDI is described as an index of the range and quality of options available to people to shape their own destinies. The index is calculated annually by using measures of life expectancy, education, and per capita income; these variables are combined according to a methodology described in the report. The HDI scores for 2011 emphasize the continuing underdevelopment of Africa, compared even to the most disadvantaged countries in other parts of the world. There are 15 African countries with lower scores than Afghanistan, which has the lowest HDI rating outside Africa. Of 30 countries that were given the lowest HDI ratings in 2011, 28 were located in Africa south of the Sahara. The lowest HDI, 0.286, was assigned to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The HDI is a serious attempt to move beyond the limitations of per capita GNI. However, with another mix of variables or with a different weighting of variables, somewhat different results would emerge. Thus care should be exercised in drawing conclusions based on the proportional size of HDI scores for different countries or on the ranking of countries when their HDI scores are fairly similar. Nevertheless, this index is useful for focusing attention on broad differences in levels of national development and for identifying countries whose people are the most disadvantaged.

Measures such as GNI and HDI have another major weakness—namely, that they provide only national aggregate measures of development. National scores may be quite misleading for African countries where there are very large differences in income and human welfare among regions or social groups within a country. We need to keep in mind several weaknesses in national statis-

tics. For example, economic data generally ignore or underestimate the value of women's work and of subsistence production. Some statistical measures of development also reflect Western cultural and economic biases.

The use of national aggregate measures also helps to perpetuate a vision of development as occurring naturally within the bounded territories of nation-states. When development is conceived at a national scale, the rich diversity of resources and of development responses at the local level does not receive appropriate attention. Nor are the many ways in which development is facilitated through connections that link diverse places—urban and rural, North and South—given due consideration. Robinson's *Development and Displacement* (see "Further Reading") expands upon these important ideas. These and other issues related to the meaning of development and its implementation as policy are discussed further in Chapter 3.

REGIONAL AND POLITICAL GROUPINGS

One approach to the definition of groupings of countries is membership in regional economic and political organizations based on shared culture and history. The most important political organization linking African states is the African Union, founded in 2002 as the successor to the Organization of African Unity (OAU). All African states, with the exception of Western Sahara, are members. Among the continent's 11 regional political-economic organizations, two stand out: the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which links 15 countries in West Africa; and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), composed of 12 states in southern Africa (discussed in more detail in Chapter 18—see Figure 18.2) plus Mauritius and Seychelles. The SADC came together initially with the objective of reducing the member states'

dependence on South Africa. Following the abolition of apartheid, South Africa joined and became “first among equals” in SADC.

In addition to groups defined by membership in an organization, regional groupings are often defined on the basis of geographical proximity and perceived similarity. Figure 1.9 shows some of the commonly used informal regional groupings of countries in Africa south of the Sahara. Note that there is no single defining characteristic, and also that there is less than complete agreement on which countries should be included in each group.

The term *West Africa* commonly refers to countries west of the Cameroon–Nigeria border, an important physical and cultural dividing line in the continent. *The Sahel* countries form a significant subregion within

West Africa characterized by desert-margin environments and (especially in recent years) recurring drought. *East Africa* consists of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, the members of the East African Community (EAC; see Chapter 18). The new nation of South Sudan is also included because of its long-standing ties—demographic, social, and political—to Uganda and Kenya. Since the end of apartheid, *southern Africa* has become a meaningful grouping for the first time. Previously, there had been a group referred to as the *Frontline States*, defined by their proximity to South Africa and opposition to apartheid. Other informal regional groupings include the four countries of the *Horn of Africa* (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, and Djibouti) and the states of *west central Africa* (anchored by



FIGURE 1.9. Informal regional groupings of countries.

Cameroon to the north and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the south).

THE PHYSICAL MAP

At first glance, the physical map of Africa looks rather uninteresting. The coastline of the continent is often straight and uncomplicated, with only a few identifiable seas, gulfs, and other adjoining bodies of water. Topographically, the vast, gently undulating plateaus create an impression of uniformity, especially when there are no great mountain ranges such as the Himalayas to catch one's eye.

A closer inspection, however, reveals considerable variety in Africa's topography.

For example, there are escarpments up to 2,000 m in elevation fringing the southern African coast; the escarpment known as the Drakensberg Mountains in South Africa is especially spectacular. Then there is the world's largest rift valley system, extending from southern Mozambique through eastern Africa to the Red Sea and beyond. And to this list can be added the magnificent volcanic peaks, notably Mounts Kenya, Kilimanjaro, Elgon, Meru, and Cameroon, which all rise between 4,000 m and almost 6,000 m above sea level.

Another significant feature is the half-dozen major river systems that together drain some four-fifths of Africa south of the Sahara (Figure 1.10). Four rivers stand out:

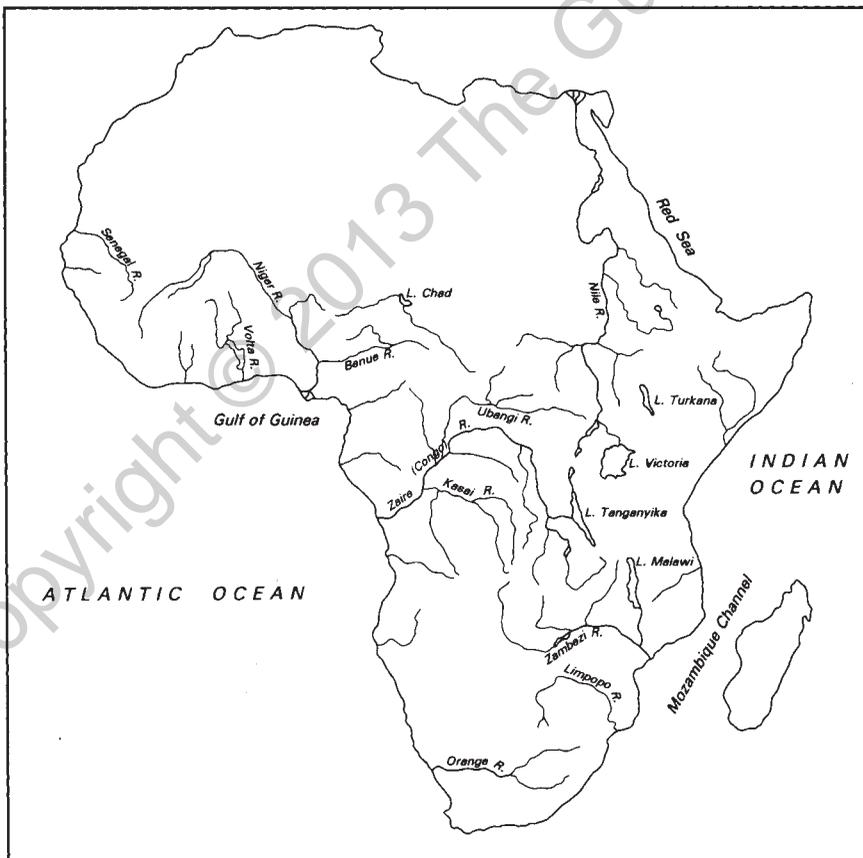


FIGURE 1.10. Major rivers, lakes, and coastal waters.

the Nile, the Congo, the Niger, and the Zambezi. Others of regional note are the Orange, the Limpopo, the Kasai, the Ubangi, the Benue, the Volta, and the Senegal.

Because the coastline is regular and has very few substantial indentations, Africa has few good natural harbors. Historically the scarcity of harbors, along with the presence of escarpments and major rapids near the mouths of many rivers, impeded early European attempts to explore and exploit the continent.

Becoming familiar with the locations of prominent physical features as well as other elements of the African map is not a particularly important end in itself. However, familiarity does provide a basis for interpreting specific issues and situations, each of which occurs in a particular context that is spatial, environmental, social, political, and economic. Thus the maps in this chapter serve to establish the spatial context for our study of the geography of Africa south of the Sahara.

FURTHER READING

Thematic and regional atlases address diverse aspects of the geography of Africa. The first Griffiths volume is a useful general source, while the others listed below are more specialized in nature.

Griffiths, I. L. L. *An Atlas of African Affairs*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 1994.

There are several excellent historical atlases of Africa:

Ajayi, J. F. A., and M. Crowder. *Historical Atlas of Africa*. London: Longman, 1985.

Fage, J. D. *An Atlas of African History*. New York: Africana, 1980.

Freeman-Grenville, G. S. P. *New Atlas of African History*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1991.

Griffiths, I. L. L. *Africa on Maps Dating from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century*. Leipzig, Germany: Editions Leipzig, 1968.

McEvedy, C. *Penguin Atlas of African History*. New York: Penguin USA, 1996.

For a fascinating study of fact and fiction in early maps of Africa, see the following source:

Bassett, T. J., and P. W. Porter. "From the best authorities: The Mountains of Kong in the cartography of West Africa." *Journal of African History*, vol. 32 (1991), pp. 367–414.

Here are two useful series of atlases, each volume of which pertains to a particular country:

Barbour, K. M., J. O. C. Oguntoyinbo, J. O. C. Onyemelukwe, and J. C. Nwafor. *Nigeria in Maps*. New York: Africana, 1982. (Other volumes in the series deal with Sierra Leone [1972], Malawi [1972], Tanzania [1971], Zambia [1971], and Liberia [1972].)

Les Atlas Jeune Afrique: République Centrafricaine. Paris: Editions Jeune Afrique, 1984. (The Jeune Afrique atlas series also includes volumes on Africa [1973], Congo [1977], Niger [1980], and Senegal [1980].)

The following are examples of thematic atlases on Africa:

Bossard, L., ed. *Regional Atlas on West Africa*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2009.

Christopher, A. J. *The Atlas of Changing South Africa*, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). *Atlas of African Agriculture*. Rome: FAO, 1986.

Murray, J. *Cultural Atlas of Africa*, 2nd rev. ed. London: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 2002.

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For ideas on African underdevelopment in global perspective, see the following sources:

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INTERNET SOURCES

The following sites provide access to national maps for African countries:

The Map Library. www.maplibrary.org/stacks/africa/index.php

Northwestern University. *Africa Base Map*.
www.library.northwestern.edu/africana/map/

Several university libraries have websites devoted to their Africa collections:

University of Texas Libraries. *Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection: Africa Maps*. www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa.html

Stanford University Library offers a comprehensive listing of sites related to African maps: Stanford University Library. *Africa South of the Sahara: Maps*. <http://library.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/map.html>

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